

SOCIALIST PARTY IS FOR—  
Labor Unity.  
30-Hr. Week and 40-Hr. Pay.  
Organization of the Unorgan-  
ized.  
Jobs for ALL.  
War Funds to the Jobless.

# SOCIALIST CALL

SOCIALIST PARTY IS FOR—  
Workers Front Against War,  
Fascism.  
A Farmer-Labor Party.  
Extension of Labor's Rights.  
Freedom for Colonial Peoples.  
Democracy Through Socialism.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States

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## Your World And Mine

By Norman Thomas

### Civil Liberties

The reconstituted Supreme Court has done a good season's work: (1) by refusing to act like a supreme legislature to override Congress on the field of social legislation, and (2) by vigorously interpreting and enforcing civil liberty.

In the famous Hague case the court, by a 5 to 2 vote, did a better than the lower courts. The same opinion was much the best and should be the prevailing opinion.

### Coughlin's Tactics

The only trouble—a trouble exaggerated by some papers—was made by a comparatively small group of young toughs who gathered to boo as near the tube station to which I walked unescorted by any police.

In other words, as in Philadelphia and various parts of New Jersey in Jersey City it is self-proclaimed Coughlin followers who use Fascist tactics against meetings which they neither understand nor like.

### Guard Relief

Congress gave the TVA the man's rush by refusing to permit it to purchase private companies.

### State Capitalism

The general idea isn't bad. Indeed, something must be done to break the present jam which holds back the waters of abundance.

### Thomas Demands Coughlin Condemn Young Hoodlums

NEW YORK—Norman Thomas, having his victory rally address Jersey City where he was booned Coughlinists, made public the following letter to the radio priest:

"You have a great power in shaping American opinion. You previously assert your right to publish your ideas in the press and on the air. With this we believe in democracy and civil liberty as its cornerstones do not quarrel.

# VICTORY IN JERSEY CITY!

## Vandals Demolish S. P. Office

### Debs School Smashed by Hooligans

### Vandals Wreck New York Office; Arrests Unlikely

NEW YORK — Striking hard at the spearhead of anti-Fascist activity in New York's W. Fourteenth St. area, hoodlums one night recently broke into the headquarters of the Debs Labor school, smashed typewriters, destroyed and scattered card-index files of the school's students, slashed upholstered chairs with an icepick, tore anti-war and Spanish Loyalist posters from the wall and destroyed a Socialist branch banner and two red flags.

Like Hitler's Nazi gangs, the hooligans, afraid to face the Socialists in open battle, smashed their way into the headquarters through a rear window in the dead of night.

### Illinois Jobless Meeting Demands \$120,000,000

CHICAGO—A conference of 65 civic and labor leaders to mobilize support for a program of adequate relief and socially useful public works was held in the Chicago Commons June 10.

### Women Resist



## Victory Rally in Hagueland



Norman Thomas (center) shown leaving victory rally in Jersey City, where public meetings have been barred by Mayor Hague for more than a year. Thomas was the principal speaker at a monster meeting (crowd, 10,000) celebrating the supreme court's recent 5 to 2 decision denying Hague the right to suppress public meetings and free speech.

## Rump Auto 'Strike' Flops; UAW Trains Guns on GM

FLINT—Shortly after the American Federation of Labor chartered the Homer Martin rump group of auto workers, thousands of CIO workers gathered here to clasp the lid on the coffin of the dual union.

General Motors declared that it would not recognize either side but would leave to the courts the question of which union General Motors shall deal with.

Workers Enraged  
Many workers were enraged at Martin's failure to take any strike vote or even consult the locals involved in the strike plan.

## Thomas Hails Defeat Of Hague's Gag Rule Before 10,000 People

### Organizing Campaigns Opened as Result of High Court's Decision

JERSEY CITY—Hague is not the law! That's the good news here now, following the monster Journal Square meeting of June 12 when 10,000 jubilant people turned out to hear Norman Thomas and other speakers celebrate the 5 to 2 decision of the United States Supreme Court killing Mayor Hague's rulings against public meetings and free speech.

As Thomas rose to speak from the sound truck in almost the same spot where Hague's hoodlums pelted him with eggs and Hague's police evicted him from Jersey City last year, Arthur Garfield Hays, famed attorney for the American Civil Liberties union, called for "three cheers for Norman Thomas."

### Cheers for Thomas

As the echoes of the cheers from the crowd died away, Thomas replied:

"Three cheers for Jersey City back in the United States." "No supreme court decision by itself," the national chairman of the Socialist party continued, "can make Jersey City the kind of community to which we can point with pride as an example of what democracy at its best can do for the happiness and well-being of men."

### Hoodlums Scarce

That the hoodlums were not on hand Monday night shows that they have been under Hague's orders all along.

Salesmen of Father Coughlin's Social Justice had to be chased away from the platform during the early part of the meeting.

"But the people who, by reason of the supreme court decision, have had their democratic rights more firmly established are now under a special obligation to use these rights for the peaceful and orderly vindication of justice, of industrial as well as political democracy, of freedom from the exploiter, whatever name he bears."

### Test Ahead

Milgram, Baldwin and Thomas all raised the question of trade unionism in relation to civil liberties.

Milgram reminded the throng that "the center of the controversy has been the right of the CIO to organize in Jersey City."

"The test still lies ahead when the unions start to organize," Thomas stated. "At other meetings there'll be no cameras and no publicity. Will the mob do what the law can't do?"

Only a few scattered incidents took place to disturb the peaceful re-establishment of the rights of free speech and assembly, suggested by Hague over a year ago.

Hague obviously had passed the word down to his gang to "lay

## Socialist Party Maps Campaign for Greater Aid to Spanish Refugees

### North American Committee Hit in Thomas Statement

The following statement by Norman Thomas has the unanimous endorsement of the Socialist Party Committee on International Labor Solidarity.

Among the many tragedies of the world, none is greater than the plight of some 400,000 Spanish Loyalist refugees still held in concentration camps in France.

Various agencies, however, are allowed by the French government to operate in the camps to improve conditions. It is the business of Socialists to do all that lies in their power, directly and by stimulating community enterprises in towns and cities where they live, to bring relief to these victims of Fascist cruelty.

We also recommend strongly the splendid work done by the Communist Party of the United States in its active societies is active, we urge that other Americans co-operate with them. They are to be trusted in the raising and the distribution of funds.

There are also other committees engaged in special phases of relief work for special groups which are reliable and trustworthy. The New World Resettlement Fund 20 Vesey

ate overhead costs and the assurances that the American Friends (Quakers) would handle the distribution of relief in refugee camps in France.

During negotiations we withheld any public statement because we appreciated the desperate need of the refugees and the value of much of the work which had been done by the committee. Moreover, we hoped to get adequate reforms. We have, however, failed to get satisfactory guarantees on the subject of control and now feel that the time has come when we should make definite recommendations to Socialists that in every possible case they co-operate with other organizations than the North American committee. Aid can far better be sent through other agencies which we have recommended. We refrain from seeking general newspaper publicity at this time in the matter lest our statement do more harm in restricting relief than good in exposing Communist party tactics.

We believe that enough has been done in the North American committee to guarantee that the funds raised, minus a high overhead, will be used for refugees. We do not believe with equal assurance that all sorts of refugees will be reached with the same impartiality, or that the direct significance of relief as an aid to the Communist cause, rather than to any general humanitarian or anti-Fascist cause, will be completely avoided.

The International Labor Solidarity committee is mapping out plans for a campaign in behalf of Spanish refugees. Full details will be published soon in the CALL and will be sent to party secretaries. The co-operation of Socialists is essential.



Mayor Frank (I Was the Law) Hague of Jersey City, chastised by a U. S. supreme court decision prohibiting his anti-labor regime from interfering with meetings or leaflet distribution.

## Repealed

Federated Press Photo.

# Socialist Party Clarifies Stand On War Measures

## Stresses Workers' Action in Fight Against Fascism

The following statement, drafted by the national Anti-War Committee of the Socialist Party and passed by the National Executive Committee, is an interpretation of the Kenosha anti-war resolution and a re-statement of the Socialist position on war, sanctions, boycotts and embargoes in the light of present-day developments:

The Socialist party has refused to support any system of alliances of one set of nations directed at another nation or group of nations. When this was called collective security, the national convention of the Socialist party at Kenosha, Wis., said:

"Centered in the League of Nations, a collective security program has for two decades captured the imagination and caught up the hopes of large sections of the peace and labor movements. Its advocates insisted that through the league machinery, world peace could be achieved without any shift from capitalism to a Socialist system. But increasingly these unrealistic peace workers have been confounded by events.

"Not only did the League of Nations see treaties of military assistance, based on the old-time balance of power philosophy, entered into openly and secretly among its leading powers; not only did it come to see its provisions defied at its own council table; but eventually it reached the point where, in deference to imperialistic compulsions, there was open trading among many of the league nations entirely outside the league to which they were pledged, and even cynical attacks on the league by some of its most prominent spokesmen.

"Even if capitalist governments could be counted on to work against Fascism, collective security in our present-day world would mean lining up a part of the world to make war, if necessary, on the rest. Its practical application is a revival of the

old systems of alliances which so long made war inevitable."

### Alliances for War

The possibility of any peace-making collective security completely collapsed at the time of the Munich pact. Following the conquest of Czechoslovakia by Germany, Great Britain launched an attempt to create a system of alliances between England, France, Poland, the U. S. S. R. and the small Balkan nations directed at Germany and Italy. The ever increasing conflict between the two sets of empires now is settling down into cold bald military alliances-for-avowed war-making purposes. There is absolutely no hope of peace, of the lessening of nationalism, of an increase of freedom and democracy in the modern world through this revival of the old pre-war system of alliances.

In the United States, that section of American capital dominated by the Morgan financial interests has for years wanted closer diplomatic, military and financial relations between the United States government and the British empire. Today they have found an ardent friend in the Roosevelt administration. Many liberals along with the Communist party who desperately seek some method to use capitalist governments in the fight against Fascism now advocate a policy in accord with the major financial interests of the country.

The fact that England, France and the United States are aligned because of imperialist interests against the Fascist powers have led many people, concerned over the aggressions resulting from the Fascist imperialism of Germany, Italy and Japan, to become advocates of various types of governmental action in the hope that they will be of aid to the anti-Fascist struggle.

In the United States, the drive to align the United States behind the British empire is taking three legislative forms. The American people now are being agitated to support one or all of these proposals. They are:

1. Empowering the president to select "treaty violators" and take action against them.
2. Placing of war trade on a cash and carry basis.
3. Unilateral action against Germany, Italy and Japan in the form of government embargoes.

The adoption of any of these proposals as a foreign policy for the United States would mean tying it into the Anglo-French set of empire protecting alliances. Support of any of these three proposals means support of the government's imperialist aspirations as well as the military machine which necessarily accompanies them.

### Misused Power

The first proposal means placing complete power for war or peace in the hands of a president who with such power under the present neutrality legislation has used it against democracy as in the case of loyalist Spain. To increase President Roosevelt's power means placing the might of America's military and economic resources behind the foreign investments of the Morgan financial interests.

The second proposal is not neutrality and does not stop the flow of war materials. The principle of cash and carry means that the resources of the country are placed at the disposal of the big navy nations. This means Japan in the Far East, and England and France in Europe.

Unilateral action is in a slightly different category. It is urged that the government in peace-time should embargo the Fascist nations. In the first place, such legislation is not unilateral. It will actually result in a form of collective security aligning the United States behind British foreign policy. In the second place, it is a step that will lead to American participation in war as an ally of England and France, because it sets a war process in motion.

Though some government action of a non-military character can be taken against the Fascist nations, the only action likely to be taken by the government is likely to be war, particularly under the present administration. In the third place, embargo action on the part of the United States government does not stop the internationalism of war trade. A current example of the internationalism of war trade and investment is the

# Victory in Jersey City

Continued From Page One  
to protest some of the remarks of the mob and was thrown down four flights of stairs.  
In her column next day, Miss Bromley reported that the Columbia student who was thrown down the steps was a member of the Young Communist league.

"He told me that he and some of his friends had thought they ought to come to the meeting," Miss Bromley reported, "even if the Communist party had boycotted it. It is a healthy sign that a young Communist came to Norman's defense when he was defending civil liberties."

### C. P. Abstains

Though the American League for Peace and Freedom and the International Labor Defense were represented at the first committee meeting to plan the celebration, the Communist party and its front organizations refused to support the rally.

The day following the meeting, despite the fact that Norman Thomas and the victory rally were front page news in papers throughout the East, the Daily Worker published not a single line. This has been characteristic of the C. P. during the year-long struggle.

"The International Ladies' Garment Workers' union and the CIO now contemplate a vigorous drive to organize Hudson county. A CIO mass meeting is being planned sometime during the next two weeks to get the campaign underway.

The state committee of the Socialist party has assigned Milt Friedman to head an organizing committee for Hudson county. Herman Matson, of Hoboken, is now serving on the committee.

A battle has been won—but the real fight is just getting underway.

revelation of the investments of Prime Minister Chamberlain in German war industry. To embargo goods to Fascist nations and to allow the flow of war materials to the "democratic" allies, nations would not necessarily trade with the Fascist nations. Under the present organization of world economy, these governments can secure the needed materials from neutral states with which the United States trades.

So long as any nation is allowed to buy war materials in the United States, there exists the probability of transshipment of goods to the Fascist nations. Unilateral embargoes would actually give the neutral Scandinavian nations, and England and France, power to decide whether or not they want to permit the transshipment of war material bought in the United States to Fascist states. This would be giving England and France authority to determine how America's economic power is to be used in world politics.

### Favors Nye Bill

In opposition to any of the measures listed above, the Socialist party supports the Nye-Bone-Clark bill providing for absolute neutrality and taking power to determine foreign policy out of the hands of the president.

Many people, worried over the war materials being bought in the United States by Japan, are urging an embargo against Japan. The arguments against unilateral action outlined above hold in the case of Japan as well. However, the Socialist party has three concerns in the Far Eastern struggle: Keeping America out of war, aiding China's struggle against foreign imperialism, and fighting American imperialism in the Far East. We believe that the application of the present neutrality law would have acted at least partially to meet these three needs. It would have stopped the flow of actual war materials to Japan and would not have affected China's military needs because of the small quantity of actual war materials now being bought in the United States.

The defects of the present neutrality law are shown best in the Far Eastern situation. With power in the hands of the president there is no guarantee of the automatic application of neutrality provisions. Likewise, the present neutrality law exempts secondary war materials except in certain cases. For these reasons it must be strengthened to be of real aid against Japan.

One thing is clear about the application of an embargo against Japan. An embargo against Japan would mean strengthening the hand of American imperialism in the Far East. It would increase the tensions existing as the result of a conflict of American and Japanese economic interests. Intervention

# Signing Victorious Briggs Pact



President R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), seated, and President W. P. Brown of the Briggs Manufacturing company, sign a year's contract with exclusive bargaining rights. The agreement ended a 17-day strike in Detroit.

# Bay State S. P. Opens Drive on Invasion Of Political Rights

WORCESTER, Mass. — Massachusetts Socialists met in this city June 11 at the Harding 'st. hall of the Workmen's Circle in a spirited state convention which mapped an intensive fight against the systematic restriction of mi-

nority political rights and democratic procedure being carried out under aristocratic Governor Saltonstall.

The convention, which registered a distinct rise in Socialist confidence and organized morale, planned to fight the introduction of the biennial state legislative session in place of the traditional annual session and the concentration of power in the hands of the small governor's council, remnant of the less democratic colonial days of the Bay state.

Of particular interest to Socialists and organized labor, of course, is the impending referendum fight to repeal the new 3 per cent election law slipped through the legislature without publicity by the Saltonstall regime which increases nearly 50 times the requirements for getting Socialist and other minority party tickets on the state ballot.

The securing of signatures for the referendum petitions will be an important summer activity of Socialists, made more difficult by deliberate delay of the state attorney general's office which has control over the preparation of the referendum petitions.

Full delegation attended the convention from Lowell, Boston-Cambridge, Worcester, North Adams, New Bedford, Dorchester-Roxbury, Easthampton and Greenfield. YPSL fraternal delegates were present from Springfield, New Bedford and Hampshire county circles.

State Secretary Alfred Baker Lewis, submitting the report of the state executive committee, sketched the wide range of Socialist action in the period since the last convention. The political campaign of 1933, last year's successful summer school at Goshen, former state organizer Clare Pines' work up until his resignation at beginning of 1933, propaganda and education meetings, and activity and good work of Socialists in the trade union field, including the International Ladies Garment Workers, Writers' Union, Painters, Toy and Novelty Workers, Leather Workers, Bakery Workers, Textile Workers particularly the New Bedford Weavers, teachers and direct support rendered the seamen's strike against Standard Oil, all were reported and analyzed.

In the liberal and auxiliary organizations allied to the labor movement Socialist activity extended into the Workers' Defense League, the League for Industrial Democracy, the student Christian movement, Massachusetts Civil Liberties committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Spanish aid and relief organizations, Friends of German Freedom, Keep America Out of War congress, Workmen's Circle and Consumers Co-operative movements.

Leo Leopold of Springfield submitted a separate report of the considerable progress of the Young People's Socialist League in the state. The party summer school near Goshen will be repeated this year June 28 to July 9 again under the experienced direction of Leo Vernon. Both finance and organization plans call for employment of a state organizer at an early date.

The convention disposed of rather complete reports from constitution committee by Albert Sprague Coolidge, resolutions by Carl Walz and organization finance and propaganda by Mary Felton.

Arthur G. McDowell of Chicago, national labor secretary of the Socialist Party, was the guest speaker of the convention. He emphasized two main developments, national and international, as preparing the way for the new growth of the Socialist party movement among American workers.

First, the international and national revolt against Bolshevism whether of the official Stalinist or the opposition varieties. The recognition of the essential kinship of totalitarianism, whether Bolshevik, Nazi or Fascist and the beginning of the understanding that the Russian revolution is related more closely to the nationalist modernization of the feudal old Czarist empire than to Socialism and the international workers movement. McDowell stressed, was so far most dramatically expressed in the turn of the liberal and radical intellectuals as shown in the recent rise of the Committee for Cultural Freedom.

However, the Socialist labor secretary insisted that the cult of party dictatorships had never got its virus as deep in the workers ranks as among the radical intellectuals and the return road is short.

The other factor the speaker insisted was the beginning of the disillusionment of the workers and other allied layers of the population with the limitations of the social-democratic capitalist reform program of the New Deal which inevitably was failing to solve the problem of the restoration and increase of production and the ending of unemployment.

With these two developments clearing objective obstacles out of the way the national office representative stressed the measures which the national organization was presenting for the rebuilding of the literature, education and propaganda work of the party, and particularly the local and branch sustaining fund for the Socialist Call through which it is planned to guarantee improved weekly publication by the beginning of September.

# Needle Trades Anti-War Council Launched in N. Y.

NEW YORK — The Needle Trades Workers of New York, who have historically pioneered in almost every new development in the American trade union movement in the last 30 years, have chalked up another lead to their credit with the formation of the Needle Trades Division of Labor's Anti-War Council, first vigorous rank and file organization of unionists against war.

The event was celebrated at an installation meeting in the Center Hotel, New York, June 10, at which Norman Thomas, on behalf of the Keep America Out of War congress with which Labor's Anti-War Council is affiliated, presented the first membership cards to the temporary officers of the Needle Trades Division in the presence of several hundred members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers, Fur Workers and Millinery Workers' unions.

Launched only a few weeks ago, the Needle Trades Division, with over 600 individual members signed up, is making steady progress. The Needle Trades Anti-War action has their own slogan of "Clothes for the Living, Not Shrouds for the Dead." Their membership cards bears the general insignia of the whole Labor Anti-War Council, that of a figure of labor breaking the sword across his knee.

It is proposed that the organizations which are to follow when steel, automotive, rubber, electrical, building and other workers follow the Needle Trades Division, function as membership low-down, paying organizations and pick their slogan as adapted to their particular trade.

The membership cards carry the simple five-point program of the council.

1. International solidarity of workers for collective action of the working class.
2. Against Fascism, Imperialism and war preparations.
3. Opposition to industrial mobilization and universal conscription plans.
4. For a referendum on war.
5. For industrial democracy.

The speakers at the enthusiastic XIII, in 1933, the removal of Alcalá Zamora.

**The Popular Front**  
The Communist International, which was born under the sign of the most intense intransigence against world capitalism and which sharpened its dialectic in opposition to "democratic" Socialism, resolved to modify its tactics imperceptibly within the framework of the most ordinary opportunism.

After sending its ambassadors to the Court of Mussolini, it authorized their negotiations with the Third Reich. As is natural, therefore, it commissioned Litvinoff to "criticize" the old diplomacy inside the structure of the League of Nations.

**C. I. Splits Workers**  
Official Communism split the proletariat of the whole world under the pretext of "its collaboration with the bourgeoisie," in order later to occupy its place in another collaboration, much more intimate and incoherent.

Only such a policy could produce such a result. Its decline was notorious that, in order to itself from international and help itself afloat, the through the mouth of Durruti launched the slogan of the "ultra front," which would serve "intransigents" as a new of ration with all organizations parties, provided they were twenty anti-Fascist.

This Stalinist slogan was first point of contact in establishing initial relations between the Socialist and Communist parties, preceded by a few in the youth organizations of parties.

**Prieto's Proposal**  
The popular front on a scale was perhaps "invented" in Moscow, but in Spain it was proposed by Indalecio Prieto, a politician who, for one reason another, was considered a "fumbling his way toward the rent of republicanism." As rejected proposal of Prieto was accepted when offered by Prieto.

(Continued Next Week)

# New Leaflet, New Supporters Spur Du Quoin Defense

## Committee Formed To Push Campaign Through Nation

CHICAGO—The Du Quoin Miners' Defense committee this week stepped up its drive to rally national support behind efforts to free five boys imprisoned in 1933 on charges growing out of the Southern Illinois mine strike. It was announced by Loren Norman, director.

Publication of a new leaflet on the case, formation of a national committee to help push the campaign and the addition of 20 trade union and fraternal organizations to its list of supporters highlighted the committee's work for the week.

Fred. Reid Robinson of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers joined the national committee, announced that his union had sent letters to Governor Horner of Illinois asking that the boys be pardoned and forwarded to the committee a list of all Illinois locals affiliated with his international.

Robinson Co-operates  
President Robinson also said he "would be happy" to write a letter on the case to each of the locals if the committee so desired.

The leaflet published this week by the committee, which is sponsored by the Workers' Defense League and the Chicago Ex-Coal Miners' club, is an attractive four-page job, with a picture of the five boys, a resume of the case, excerpts from letters, a copy of the joint statement issued by the United Mine Workers of Illinois and the Progressive Mine Workers of America, and a list of the national committee to date and

organizations that have supported the campaign.

The five boys, Ollis Batten, Sam Barro, Emory Albert, Ray Shingleton, and Barney Brown, were arrested in April, 1933, on charges of firing the shot that killed injured Lavern Miller, head of the union, and were held incommunicado, grilled, beaten, and rained for trial before a jury of farmers on a charge of venal murder. They were sentenced to life terms for four of the boys, 40 years for Albers.

**Enlarged Board**  
The executive committee, heretofore consisting of Chicagoans, has been enlarged. It now includes the following: Gerry Allard, chairman; August Hoffman, vice-chairman; Marjorie Kipp, secretary; Francis Heisler, legal advisor; Loren Norman, director; and Eben Soderstrom, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor; Dan Reed, president of the Progressive Mine Workers of America; Ray Edmondson, president of District 12, United Mine Workers (Illinois); John Battuello, P.M.W. board member; Travers Clemat, national secretary of the Socialist party; Catherine De Rorre, women's auxiliary leader; Prof. Maynard Knapp; Arthur G. McDowell, George Reid, Charles Rossio, Lillian Jones and Ina White.

**National Committee**  
A partial list of the national committee members includes: H. Baldwin, Alfred Bingham, L. E. Bowman, V. F. Calverton, Dan Clendenin, McAlister Coleman, John Devey, Judah Drob, Van Dunne, J. B. S. Harman, L. Harstein, Sidney Hook, H. Laidler, Margaret Marshall, Harold Fritchett, Reid Robinson, James Rorty, Charles Edward Ross, Mark Starr, Upton Sinclair, Norman Thomas, Agnes B. Wisock and Edward A. Wisock.

# Sailors Ask Union Hiring

## Lundberg Warns Board; Troubles Grow for N. M. U.

SAN FRANCISCO — Accusing the National Maritime Commission of attempting to break unions, Harry Lundberg, president of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, last week informed the commission that the SUP would insist that all seamen on a proposed transpacific shipping line operated by the government must be hired through the union.

The commission has demanded that crews be hired from lists of men registered with the United States shipping commissioner.

Declaring that he was in favor of the American merchant marine being built up, Lundberg added that he did not feel the commission should have more leeway than private operators.

Meanwhile dissent wracked the National Maritime union, as Jerry King, national secretary-treasurer of the N.M.U. was suspended for 99 years after conviction by a trial committee on charges of acting in collaboration with shipowners and labor spies.

King's conviction grew out of charges based on a "confession" by Walter Carney, former N.M.U. official now in jail for falsifying union funds.

In addition, the Gulf district of the N.M.U. approved proposals which virtually make it a separate organization. Their proposals included disavowal of the national committee of the union on the grounds that it is Communist-dominated, refusal to pay dues to the national union, publication of an independent paper, and removal of all Communists from offices in the Gulf district.

# The Second Spanish Republic

## By Carlos Hernandez

The year 1936 was a year replete with events significant for the future of Spain. While political activity continued in the prisons of the Spanish state and in the lands of exile, the Spanish people persisted in their demand for a change of government which would re-establish republican legality.

Charged with the duty of submitting the immediate destinies of the country to public consultation, Senor Portela Valladares called for national elections, as a result of which, two groups became distinct: the left and the right.

The left included everyone from the moderate Republicans to the left Communists and the right, the whole gamut of reactionaries and especially against the republic and who were against the working class.

In the meanwhile, each party fought for its own supremacy. The alliances brought about by the circumstances constituted an "unavoidable obligation" but not a theoretical conviction.

**Spain Divided**  
Spain had not even completed her national revolution. Each party, each organization, was a closed door to all outside association, because Spanish institutions correspond to the Spanish racial temperament.

Spain was not yet a homogeneous whole, but a union of heterogeneous compartments. Each province has its own character and dialect, its own customs and aspirations. Some regions were interested in their own particularities of the others, except for certain analogies favorable to their aspirations.

Within the organizations, there existed tendencies, often represented more by the strong personality of a man than by a theory. It was, in short, the archaic temperament of the Spaniard, surrounded by his mountains and submitted to the influences of numerous generations followed, one after the other, by invasions from every attitude, which had not yet crystallized into what can be designated as "Nation" or "Modern State," with its own features and character.

**Regeneration**  
Spain had emerged from her medieval ostracism, thanks to the political revolution of 1931. In one leap, she obtained her identification-card in Europe.

Three short years brought a rapid regeneration in her cultural and economic aspects. Feverishly, with the passion proper to her southern character, Spain launched herself upon the road to reconstruction. She began once more a stage of development which had been frustrated for five centuries by the sword of General Pavia.

During these five centuries Spain had aged prematurely; the population had fallen at an alarming rate; her race, debilitated, had more in common with Africa than with Europe. Economically, Spain lacked strength.

Her sources of wealth were in the hands of foreign capital, and that which had been saved from this colonization belonged to a Holy See. Misery was the only patrimony of the people. Vanished

# Agony of a Nation

Spain did not live, she agonized. One coup d'etat gave birth to another. It mattered not who made them. Whether civilians or soldiers, the laws existed no longer outside the books. Coteries succeeded one another in alternate authority. If, during the fifteenth century, Spain was an empire, during the nineteenth and twentieth she was a colony.

These historical conditions were interpreted by all parties without distinction, from the extreme left to the extreme right. All recognized the agony of Spain and all proposed to save her.

**Socialist Party**  
The Socialist party, by reason of its tradition, its austerity, and its integrity, was the hub of politics. On its left revolved the Communist party, born of the world-wide schism of 1917-1921, diminutive in forces, of little political importance and less political influence, more demagogic than

practical, and without prospects of penetrating into social or labor centers.

To the right of the Socialist party vegetated the Republican parties, born of circumstances, without convictions of their own or prestige abroad.

The nursery of intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals, republicanism was devouring itself by reason of being the fountain-head of power. Where there were masses there were no men, and where there were men, there were no masses.

It was the eternal contradiction of to be or not to be, the agony of desiring and not being able, which placed face to face the two completely antagonistic social forces: the producing class on one side, represented by scientific Socialism and the reaction on the other, represented by "Fascism."

**The Proletariat**  
Portela Valladares was operating at the center with the purpose of re-establishing an equilibrium which would neutralize itself; for neither would the producing class consent to losing their legal

personality nor the dominant classes reconcile themselves to the loss of their economic superiority.

For the Spanish proletariat, the road to power was almost deprived of obstacles by the course of events, while for the incipient Fascist forces everything was apparently yet to be done. Only rescue, through the use of force, would avoid a road broken and beset with certain difficulties. The whole people knew it.

**Labor Movement**  
The labor movement was infinitely superior to the republican movement and more resolute than the rightist. All the forces were drawn up, power belonged to the working class. This was also known to the entire country.

On this occasion recourse was had to Portela Valladares, a heretofore and clever man, under the republic, as it had been had to Romanones under the monarchy. But in both situations the solution was tardy and blundering. The reaction of the people could not have been otherwise than it was: in 1931 the abdication of Alfonso

such a result. Its decline was notorious that, in order to itself from international and help itself afloat, the through the mouth of Durruti launched the slogan of the "ultra front," which would serve "intransigents" as a new of ration with all organizations parties, provided they were twenty anti-Fascist.

This Stalinist slogan was first point of contact in establishing initial relations between the Socialist and Communist parties, preceded by a few in the youth organizations of parties.

**Prieto's Proposal**  
The popular front on a scale was perhaps "invented" in Moscow, but in Spain it was proposed by Indalecio Prieto, a politician who, for one reason another, was considered a "fumbling his way toward the rent of republicanism." As rejected proposal of Prieto was accepted when offered by Prieto.

(Continued Next Week)



SOCIALIST CALL

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audience, is meaningless unless with it goes the liberty to organize for better conditions. Jersey City today, with its ramshackle homes, its dominating factories, is not the most inviting city in the world in which to live.

Hold That Line

BY LILLIAN SYMES

The Tide Is Rising

Several months ago, in this column, I remarked on the wave of spy and atrocity propaganda that had begun to sweep the country, via the picture magazines, radio and movies, in an attempt to sell another "democratic crusade" to the American public.

history by creating the impression that Mexico's historic struggle has been a struggle against European reaction and interference, with the U. S. A. playing the role of protective big brother.

Little Essays In Socialism

BY JOHN M. WORK

Looking over some statistics for 1933 I found 12,836 arguments in favor of Socialism. I apologize for using dull figures and I solemnly promise never, never, never to use them again—at least not until I do.



JOHN M. WORK

The record of industrial and commercial failures for the present century is as follows: 11,002 in 1901; 11,615 in 1902; 12,069 in 1903; 12,199 in 1904; 11,520 in 1905; 10,682 in 1906; 11,725 in 1907; 15,690 in 1908 (a year of depression); 12,924 in 1909; 12,652 in 1910; 13,441 in 1911; 15,452 in 1912; 16,037 in 1913; 18,280 in 1914 (a year of depression); 22,156 in 1915 (aftermath of depression); 16,993 in 1916 (cut by European war profits); 13,855 in 1917 (war profiteering at home); 9,982 in 1918 (ditto); 6,451 in 1919 (more ditto); 3,881 in 1920 (war profits waning); 19,652 in 1921 (a year of depression); 23,676 in 1922 (aftermath of depression); 18,718 in 1923; 20,615 in 1924; 21,214 in 1925; 21,773 in 1926; 23,148 in 1927; 23,842 in 1928 (boomlets bursting at height of "prosperity"); 22,909 in 1929; 26,355 in 1930 (a year of depression); 28,285 in 1931 (ditto); 31,822 in 1932 (some more ditto); 20,307 in 1933 ("new deal" beginning to bail 'em out); 19,856 in 1934; 11,724 in 1935; 9,185 in 1936; 9,490 in 1937; 12,836 in 1938.

A Labor Plea Against War

The following is a statement issued by the Needle Trades Division of Labor's Anti-War Council. Among the sponsors are Rose Pessotta, Joseph Schlossberg, Louis Nelson, Murray Gross, Minnie Lurye, Benjamin Badtz and Herman Zakowski:

Clothes for the Living—Not Shrouds for the Dead

How would you like to sit at your machine all day sewing shrouds for dead people? It wouldn't be very nice, would it, especially if you were thinking all the time that the shroud passing through your machine might soon be worn by your brother, husband, or son.

Well, that gives you some idea what will happen if war comes, and what you will have to go through. But that is only part of it. There will be other things.

Think of all the hard work and heartbreak that has gone into the building of your union, the years you have spent struggling for decent standards so that you and your family might enjoy decent lives.

The day war is declared the fruits of all your hard work will be destroyed. For war means military dictatorship which means the end of your unions just as surely as Fascism does.

They will tell you to give your life in the fight against Fascism in Europe and they will put you under a military dictatorship not far removed from Fascism. Instead of destroying Fascism where it exists today, a new World War will spread it all over the world.

The war into which we are being driven will be fought for the same old stakes—the division of spoils among the imperialist robber states. To the rich, it will bring swollen profits. For the masses, it will mean death on the battlefield and suffering at home.

The fight against Fascism and war in this country are one and the same. It is a fight that can be fought successfully with your help.

If you cherish your union and your freedom and the lives of your people, if you would rather sew clothes for the living than shrouds for the dead.

We think the New Masses has a perfect reply to the charges made by General Krivitsky. First of all, there is no such person. Secondly, he is really Schmella Ginsberg. Thirdly, he was never in the GPU. Fourthly, he was hired by the infamous Yagoda. Fifth, his articles were written for him by Isaac Don Levine. Sixth, as soon as Suzanne La Follette finishes writing the articles, they will be published in book form, and you can all read it if you're willing to pay \$500.

It's the last item that puzzles us. Why does the N. M. announce the price as if it were \$500? Do they think that's the best way of keeping the comrades from reading it?

Personally, I am seized with an irresistible impulse to rub their noses in the dirt of some migratory labor camp or some reliefers' "house-keeping room" and say: "Don't be so damned grateful for the privilege of living." Though some of them, of course, have managed to do pretty well for themselves, there is no reason why they should forget the facts of life.

Persecutions

Those of us who are old enough to remember "The Beast of Berlin," "Hearts of the World" and similar Hollywood masterpieces of the last World War are well-prepared for the current hate-fest—though some of us are rather astonished at some of its victims. In that earlier period, too, you will remember, the liberal wing of the propagandists protested loudly that their efforts were not aimed at "the German people" but merely at their wicked rulers; not at the "sincere" opponents of war, but merely at subsversive "pro-German" elements. But the net result was the whipping of German-Americans who failed to buy enough Liberty bonds, the torture of conscientious objectors who refused to bear arms; the beating and imprisonment—sometimes the murder—of Socialists, I. W. W.s, pacifists, anarchists and the smashing up of their meetings and headquarters; public insults to artists like Fritz Kreisler, the ex-communication of Beethoven and Wagner, the brutal persecutions and deportations of 1919.

General Espionage

In view of the fact that many of our liberals—and of course, all of our Communists—are now congratulating Hollywood on "liberating" itself from the pressure of the fascist censors (the fascist markets being closed, Hollywood can now afford to be daring), it may be well to ask ourselves what the net result of such pictures as "Confessions of a Nazi Spy" is going to be on the mind of the typical American patriot.

No one with an ounce of intelligence doubts that Germany has a very well-organized espionage system in this and other countries (though the "spy trial" of last year, on which the picture is based, had some strange and very phoney angles, including the "escape" of every principal in the affair, the prosecution of two or three nonentities and the fact that Mr. Leon Tarrour who unveiled the plot seemed to have some mysterious and quite un-American connections.) But so has England and the Soviet Union very elaborate espionage systems in this country—as we have abroad.

Personal Experiences

Having had some personal experiences with the British secret service here during the last World War, when it was hunting down Irish and Hindu "conspirators" bent on national liberation, I can testify that the Nazi system has a close rival for efficiency and ruthlessness.

Having seen a Hindu revolutionist shot down in cold blood in an American courtroom—a Hindu stooge of that system, I am not terribly impressed by the superior delicacy of democratic espionage. Nor should we forget that Salsedo, the Italian radical whose death set in motion the Sacco-Vanzetti affair, jumped from the window of a New York skyscraper to escape the attentions of our own department of justice.

Chaplin's Coming Picture

It is to be hoped that Charlie Chaplin's forthcoming satire on the dictators will do the job that needs to be done on this subject without, at the same time, arousing the basest and most dangerous of passions—nationalist or racist hatred and hysteria. Satire, unlike atrocity and fear-propaganda, is not a two-edged sword.

Speaking of satire, someone might do an essay on the implications of another film which has recently come out of Russia and which is getting a great play—even in some of our democratic circles which should know better—"Concentration Camp." No sane reader of Stalin has not turned penitent and decided to tell all. The film deals with a GERMAN, not a RUSSIAN concentration camp.

Juarez

Some of you who have seen another late Hollywood masterpiece—"Juarez"—undoubtedly chuckled, if you did not swear softly, at the way the stars and stripes were plastered all over that epic of Old Mexico. The picture might have been a real epic if the producers had not been so intent on distorting Mexican—and American—

The Wailing W...

Children should be permitted to read "The Wailing W..." William Lyon Phelps. Oh, no! They're too young to be reading the... list press.

England has broken her pledged word to Jews establish a national homeland in Palestine. sanctity of treaties is taking an awful beating... days from Fascist and democratic countries... Whatever is done, be sure England will do it. "It's open season on the Jews," says our friend.

The New York Times reports that immigration... Biro-Bidjan, the Jewish republic in the Soviet... has been stopped because of "the strained... situation."

Putzi Hanfstaengel, former foreign press chief... Adolf Hitler who fled Germany during the... 1935 charge of his own party, was suing for libel... his court. He denied published charges of... life, testifying that there was "not the slightest... tion" for any suggestion of immoral relations... association with Hitler.

Of course not! Their relations existed solely... purpose of destroying democracy, plotting... killing Jews, Socialists, Communists and trade... lists. Immoral!

We jumped to the wrong conclusion when... that headline from Danzig: "Poles Kill... Butcher."

It was the wrong German butcher. A name to conjure with is that of any dictator... some of the aspirants for the Hitler-Mussolini... unfortunate in their names. Take, for... Colonel J. de Roque of the French Croix de... His first name is Casimir, which is as ridiculous... a Frenchman's ear as Percival to yours. Just... says John Gunther, an American presidential... with the name of Alphonse.

Then there's the case of Hitler himself... father's real name was Schickelgruber. Conceiv... sands in the Sportsplatz shouting: "Hell... gruber!" It's enough to make anybody... And now in the United States, the leading... and anti-Semite turns out to be the dilapidated... man, Gen. Van Horn Moseley. We suppose his... call him Mose.

Some irate voter in Nebraska hung up a sign... unimpaired legislature which read: "The general... hereby objects to the anoring of the senators... must sleep, don't snore—A Constituent."

Doesn't he know that a snoring senator can... wrong? And that a snore is the least object... sound emitted by a legislator?

Hitler has signed a 10-year pact with... Naturally, Italy is the only nation left with... Germany can break a treaty.

The Bible is banned in Germany. That's reas... The Good Book talks about breaking bread... foreigners, not treaties.

When a Fascist witness before the Dies com... was being sworn in before testifying, he deas... "Is that a Christian oath?" The only oath a... "Is that to violate is a Christian oath."

Colonel Harrington, the new WPA adminis... suggests rotating WPA employment. The work... to take turns at eating and starving. That shou... reduce unemployment because a lot of the jobs... their first chance at bat, may never again hav... opportunity of coming up to the plate.

New York state has forbidden the wearing of... uniforms, and at the same time the two-bit... Fritz Kuhn, was jailed as a common thief. T... space, sum it up with the headline: "New York... Kuhniform."

Bruce Barton is in favor of repealing the ne... legislation. We are in favor of repealing Bruce... Not so long ago Earl Browder said the two g... heroes of democracy are President Roosevelt an... Fulgencio Batista of Cuba. A few weeks later... acknowledged the compliment by barring the Co... nist party of Cuba from the ballot.

Miss Smith, take a letter! Dear Mr. Browder... can't make a clean sweep with soft soap.

Philip J. Noel Baker, Labor member of parli... told the party congress at Southport that Prima... ister Chamberlain has "one foot in the eighteenth... tury and the other in Berlin."

That's no trick of contortion on Chamberlain's... Because even the eighteenth century is miles... of Berlin.

We Accept The Challenge

The wrecking of the Debs Labor School in New York presents a challenge to Socialists and workers not only in America's largest city but throughout the country as well.

For this raid was not an "incident." It was not committed by a bunch of local tough guys with no social philosophy. It follows too familiar a pattern, a pattern used by Mussolini and Hitler, to be lightly dismissed.

This attack was organized—like blackshirts and nazis organized their attacks. It was aimed at the spearhead of anti-war and anti-fascist activity in lower New York City, the headquarters of the Debs Labor School, of the Greenwich and Chelsea branches of the Party, and of the Socialist Review. It is both a sign of the effectiveness of our comrades and a warning of rising fascist action in New York.

That the assault was carried out by Coughlinites or their supporters is a conclusion logically to be drawn from circumstances surrounding the raid.

Earlier in the same night, Samuel Applebaum, a French teacher at New Utrecht High school, was stabbed when he spoke up against anti-Jewish insults by a group of people hawking Social Justice on Fourteenth street. It required seven stitches to close the wound.

Previously, the entire neighborhood, long a labor and Jewish center, had been plastered with anti-Semitic stickers.

Coughlinites, too, were among the crowd that jeered Norman Thomas as he left the victory meeting in Jersey City, where 10,000 proud citizens turned out to bury the ghost of Mayor Hague's free speech gag rules. The presence near Thomas of 100 Socialists and sympathizers is probably all that saved him from attack then.

Followers of the Father, in addition, have long picketed Station WMCA in New York because it cut Coughlin's speeches off the air when he refused to abide by an elementary broadcasting requirement, submission of advance copies of speeches to be made.

This dangerous drift of Coughlinism from words, inciting and hysterical as they were, to action, MUST be halted.

The Socialist Party has never followed a policy of deliberately provoking attack. Socialists are not cheap publicity seekers and are too deadly in earnest to play for the grandstand. But neither does this Party believe in turning the other cheek.

If cowardly hoodlums who strike in the night are aching for a fight with us, they will get it. And we don't care about the exact shade of the shirt they wear. There is one dye that tends to make all shirts look alike; it may run a little thin from fascist noses but the color, we suppose, is still red.

Anyway, one more sneaking attempt such as this and we shall find out!

Bolshevism, Trotskyism, Sectarianism

By KURT LANDAU

The following article is taken from a pamphlet, as yet unpublished, written by Kurt Landau in 1937. Landau was once a member of the Austrian Communist party and editor of "Red Flag" in Vienna. Later he entered the German Communist party. Expelled for his anti-Stalinist views, he, together with Trotsky and Rosmer, founded the International Left Communist Opposition. He vigorously opposed, however, the launching of a Fourth International and split with Trotsky. When—about 1934—he went out in Spain, he placed his journalistic talents at the service of the P.O.U.M. On Sept. 23, 1937, he was murdered by Stalin's GPU agents in Spain.

Trotsky, and later both Zinoviev and Kamenev, in their fight against Stalin, always started with the premise that the concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship, elaborated by the Russian Revolution in the course of the years 1917 to 1923, is unchangeable and exemplary. The dictatorship of the proletariat under the form of political monopoly of the Bolsheviks had become an axiom for them. They did not understand that which for them represented the most perfect form of proletarian domination was in reality only the expression of a permanent crisis of the revolution. The principal cause of this crisis was the non-Socialist and non-revolutionary character of the other Soviet parties—above all the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries of the Right and the adventurism of the Socialist Revolutionaries of the Left.

The Russian Opposition gave itself over to the disgraceful illusion of believing it could solve the crisis of the revolution, which reflected itself in a crisis in the party, within the confines of the party itself. It was not until after his defeat and annihilation that Trotsky, at least in transition, raised the slogans outside the party which were aimed to link the Marxist Opposition to the class struggle of the workers—above all the slogan for democratic and secret elections in the trade unions and Soviets. But these slogans, proclaimed by Trotsky after his defeat and exile, came too late and their importance was not of a great but of a theoretical character.

In the course of the fight the Communist Opposition of Russia always recoiled before the decision to appeal to the masses, to break definitely the legality of the party. It always capitulated for tactical reasons.

Stalinism Born of Bolshevism

The Russian Opposition did not understand that Stalinism in its fundamental conception is born of Bolshevism, from which it has developed all the weaknesses which destroy the party in the future. One is not able to combat or defeat Stalinism without breaking with those conceptions, arising from Bolshevism, which have failed both in the Revolution and in history.

mechanical fashion to the international working-class movement. The Russian Opposition has shown itself incapable of finding a new political ideology. It has not gone beyond the limits of Bolshevism. It was neither personal weakness nor fear of a menacing war which finally destroyed the Russian Opposition. Its decomposition and its liquidation had very deep roots. Arising from the conceptions of Bolshevism with which they surrounded themselves, the oppositional Bolsheviks considered the fight between them and Stalin as a fight on the plane of tactics and organization. The effort of Trotsky to give to this fight a programmatic character by the question of "Socialism in one country" was condemned to failure. To the extent that the crisis in capitalism increased and the international conflicts matured, the utopian orientation toward an autarchic Socialist society, least in part its practical importance, Stalinism turned itself anew toward the international arena. Its political and military action, therefore, will have progressive rather than reactionary consequences. One is reminded of the Napoleonic armies of bourgeois France, which, while carrying the flag of the bourgeois revolution into feudal Europe, at the same time contributed to national oppression and consequently to the promotion of reactionary libertarian wars.

Trotskyism as a Fetish

The fight against the narrow nationalistic spirit of Stalin was not able to form anything but a part of the fight for elaboration of a new Socialist conception. It should never have taken on the character of a fetish which it has, in fact, adopted.

At the beginning of 1929 the revolutionary movement entered a decisive phase of its crisis. The Communist International, after the Sixth World Congress of 1928, began the "leftist period," condemning collaboration with Socialists, organizing the trade union split, and transforming its parties into sects, large or small. Old groups revolting against the new course detached themselves from the C. I. This acquired extreme importance because it coincided with the beginning of the "gravest" crisis that capitalism has ever endured. Europe, Europe, established since 1924, was shaken to its very foundations. All classes of bourgeois society—particularly in Central Europe—began to move, seeking a solution for their critical situation.

Trotsky's Failure

The new course of the Communist International was in obvious contradiction to the elementary necessities of the revolutionary movement. It led inevitably to catastrophe. For Trotsky, who had just been expelled from Russia, the decisive hour was at hand. If he was capable of giving a clear, revolutionary program to the working-class movement, if he could indicate to it the way to take in order to conquer Stalinism and reformism—to lead, over the heads of the leaders of parties, the proletarian revolutionary elements in independent action—then the role which Marx and Engels had played with regard to the young workers' movement of 1850-70 could have fallen to him. But Trotsky did not measure up to his historic task. He did not understand the character of the maturing world economic crisis, considering even the New York stock market crash as a transitory episode. He failed to understand

the necessity of a program uniting all the progressive elements of the working class movement. He failed to understand that one cannot reunite the revolutionary forces on the single, narrow basis of a fraction and on a criterion equally fractional—such as the Anglo-Russian Committee, Chinese Revolution, etc., etc.—but that one must reunite them on a broad platform which gives a solution to the essential problem of the Revolution.

More serious even than this is the error of Trotsky in that which concerns his personal role, in the working class international movement. Just as the movement of each country shows particular and original traits, the advance guard of the revolution, opposing itself to the Third International, must develop in each country characteristic traits in order to link itself realistically to the workers' movement. Trotsky, better than anyone else, should have been able to assist the development and uniting of the various groups of the advance guard, first in the different countries and finally on an international scale. But instead of taking stock of the tendencies of the revolutionary groups and trying to surmount old differences which had become outworn, Trotsky tried to found an international sect with his own personal conceptions as a program, unchangeable, and with his person, as the single and final source.

Road to Dictatorship

Instead of taking the road to Marx, Trotsky took that of Lasalle, founder of an organization of the workers that was authoritarian and semi-Bolshevik. The error of Lasalle was understandable, in view of the youth of the workers' movement which had neither experience nor independent organization nor an understanding of its role. Trotsky inevitably has become the representative of dictatorial methods in the working class movement.

The system of organization of Trotskyism is a bad caricature of Bolshevism and for its internal shape very close to the system dear to Stalinists. Instead of upholding the revolutionary Marxist organizations which had been born in the various countries, Trotsky abandoned himself to the illusion of being able to create working class groups artificially, with the aid of "ambassadors." This sectarian fashion of proceeding is the most inflexible means of repulsing revolutionary workers because the serious worker is endowed with a critical sense that does not permit him to rally to an organization except after having observed it during a certain time of independent activity. True Marxists do not consider historic experience or tactical results or even theoretical knowledge as something unchangeable and eternal. They apply themselves to their results in order to find an adequate solution to every concrete situation.

Dogmas Don't Make a Movement

Revolutionary Marxism always influences a sector in the midst of the existing working class movement. In accord with this theory, it seeks to assimilate the most advanced elements of the proletariat in order to

make of them finally the revolutionary advance. It knows that this advance guard is not able anything but the product of that assimilation advanced workers and socialist theories. Party and intellectuals, bound closely and indissolubly, represent the movement of the working class and to its realization, represent an advanced guard. If the theory forms the basis of their thought, of their activities, of their life. Five hundred Trotskyites side the working class, but five hundred Trotskyites struggles against its fundamental organizations—the unions—represent a sect even if they equip their with all the dogmas of the working class movement.

A working class organization which has its own and its social roots develops an independent party. It does not allow itself either to command or to be commanded. The incapacity of Trotskyite organizations to carry out an independent policy, the fact that its supreme organ, in case of conflict, liquidate them or replace them with a new organization shows that they are not adaptable. In the Marxist conception the party represents the executive instrument of the organization. In the Trotskyite conception the organization of workers is nothing but the instrument of the party.

Marxists examine in a critical fashion the road for the success and defeat of working class organizations, nationally and internationally. They know well that there is no definite, eternal form of working class organization, neither from a political point of view nor from an organic point of view. They know that a form which under certain conditions may be progressive can become reactionary if the conditions change fundamentally. From this angle Marxists examine reasons for the growth and defeat of the Third International in order better to take account of that which is living and of that which is dead in its history. They know that new forms of international organization of the workers do not depend solely upon their conception and their intention but upon a whole set of objective factors in the course of historic development. They bring themselves conscientiously and tentatively to study the spontaneous tendencies to develop in the proletariat, not only to place themselves under them, but also to start from them as a basis.

A Literary Socialist Tendency

Trotskyism, on the contrary, imagines in its sectarian folly, that one can repeat history as one would a catechism. It believes truly that a Fourth International, as a faithful copy of the Third International up to 1923, is possible. It fails to realize that the historic situation which permitted the creation of the Third International under the form we know today cannot repeat itself, will never return.